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The/Deliberations on the Sino-Soviet Dispute in Bucharest at  
the Rumanian Workers Party Congress--21-26 June 1960/

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Part I (Summary of CPSU document dated 21 June 1960)

Long-standing friendship, cooperation in construction of socialism, based on Marxist-Leninist principles. Support on Taiwan and of China for Berlin, Paris summit, disarmament.

Positions on various very important problems; diverges in certain essentials.

Articles 90th anniversary of Lenin's birthday in JMZB<sup>1</sup> and another, WFTU and others; statements of Chinese delegates that diverged from the Declaration and the Manifesto.

CPSU did not move, considering it should be put to a meeting.

January 1960 - Chou, in talk with envoy of USSR, said: "As regards divergences, they remain in the parties and let us not mention them. "

6 Feb 1960 - CC of CPSU said that it was disposed to discuss, not let the problems increase, reach an agreement.

WFTU - Points of view in a series of problems of principle.

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Lin Ning-yi, president of labor federation and member of CC, told Grishin on 2 June 1960 about the great dissatisfaction of Chinese leaders with the WFTU stand with regard to peace and disarmament problems. It is a fraud against all mankind to sit down at the same table with imperialists. If the WFTU report is not corrected the Chinese will criticize the WFTU in the session and unmask the opportunism of the right.

Meeting of WFTU Council - Liu Ning-yi presented views on peace, etc., dissenting from those of the Soviet Union; Novella, Grishin, Frachon answered categorically; then meeting (6 June supper and meeting) convoked by members of the Political Bureau. Liu Shao-chi said that there were differences of opinion about some important theoretical problems among the Communist Parties. He yielded the floor to Dao Siao-pin, (TENG Hsiao-p'ing) who said there were misinterpretations and tergiversations in the CPSU line. CPSU was casting <sup>ok</sup> of the Declaration, though he himself contradicted the Declaration. Soviet interpretation? Chou was going to speak, but the comrades said that they could not condone criticism or discussions behind the back of the Communist Parties. (ref to notation of principles)<sup>2</sup>

The desire to criticize many important theses of principle was evident. CPSU considers methods and forms incorrect, unacceptable, against the interests of the proletariat.

Comrades of fraternal parties informed the CC of the CPSU that the Chinese had requested many times

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meetings, expressing criticisms and announcing disagreements with CPSU line as far back as four years ago.

In view of the lack of response, they announced that they would not speak in the WFTU, but they did speak with other party and non-party members on the General Council and committees.

Speeches by Liu Ning-yi and Liu Chang-chen: They try to impose their line on the WFTU; it was an open appeal to the WFTU against the CPSU with regard to many international problems. Before WFTU session, there were press articles directly and indirectly criticizing the CPSU. Articles "Long Live Leninism," and "Forward on the path marked by the great Lenin," as well as the report of Liu Chin-yi, substitute member of the CC in the Lenin's anniversary celebration. They distribute these articles in other socialist countries, without the consent of fraternal parties.

Appraisal of present time, war and peace, co-existence, reads to socialism. "It is necessary to clear these problems," they (CPSU) assert, that "the world communist movement does not see these problems clearly."

1 - Nature of the present era. The Chinese only see the aspect that the present era is one of imperialism, wars, and revolutions. If it is not characterized in this fashion, "it does not follow Lenin's characterization of imperialism."

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CPSU considers that they do not take into account changes in correlation. They misunderstand and misinterpret Lenin's thesis. They do not take into account all the interrelations among the classes when they see only wars, revolutions, and imperialism; it is not a complete Marxist analysis; they do not see social changes and displacements in the correlation. It is (not only?) an era of imperialism, revolutions, passage to socialism, (3 words illeg.) and consolidating world existence. Lenin said that after 1917, no world phenomenon could be understood correctly without considering the USSR as a decisive factor. At present, world socialist system is decisive factor able to exert and actually exerting influence on world policy. (3 lines illegible)

When at least in several countries (1 word illeg.), capable having decisive influence in world politics  
 "(Lenin- ) Works (Vol) 31 (pg) 126.

It has been a long time since imperialism ceased being dominant force, rather the Socialist system which determines commanding influences. It cannot act arbitrarily (massive disintegration of colonialism could not (2 words illeg.) thanks only to the existence of the World Socialist system.

Character of the present epoch has for this (reason?) great fundamental importance, strategy and tactics, peaceful transition, peaceful coexistence, war, peace, disarmament.

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Chinese say that they see a departure from Leninism, the nature of imperialism is evident but they cannot (3 words) CPSU which prove this (is?) CPSU (position?). Imperialism has not and will not cease being aggressive. Cites XX (Congress). As long as imperialism (exists) economic base (1 word illeg.). XXI (Congress) writes: a possibility of war exists, the fundamental source of danger (4 words illeg.)

Khrushchev speech on his return from the U. S.

"In spite of the fact that the idea of coexistence is expanding in the U. S., the partisans of cold war exercise great influence (Oct '59)."

April '60

On the results of the trip to France. "In spite of... we have no illusions concerning the policy which De Gaulle will follow," powerful forces are acting which can impede disarmament and Germany. There will be a very complex situation at the Summit, it is necessary to follow (3 words illeg.). On the nature of imperialism there are no differences. But can it act as it did 50 years ago (?)

It is necessary to take note of changes, base conclusions on Leninist and practical principles.

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2. War and Peace Possibility of (avoiding? preventing?) wars. Report of the Chinese CC at the ~~VIII~~ <sup>VIII</sup> Congress. This was (1 word). Policy of JCH (Krushchev) on coexistence. Illustrating divergences articles 90th Lenin and WFTU-- "Illusion" possibility prevent war. According to them, imperialism can (decide?) arbitrarily whether there will be war or peace, to intervene or not in other countries, to wage local or total war.

The publication (Jun chi?) (Red Flag) stated that war or peace is decided by the Imperialist General Staff. It does not depend on us, that we are not chiefs of these General Staffs.

These arguments are not based on a correct analysis of forces. War is not only an economic phenomenon. War and peace have (2 words illegible) importance, world correlation forces, corr. (elation) class forces, of political forces (economies?) capitalist countries, will of sane men. XX, XXI, and Declaration and Manifesto. Reply to (1 word) factors to prevent war. The peace forces more important, decisive ones are world Socialist system, in material and moral force--plus Afro-Asian and working class and CP's plus liberation movement colonies and semi-colonies and peace movement.

They stated that war was not fatalistically inevitable, but there is in fact danger and struggle is necessary, (2 words) mobilizing force but with (1 word) perspectives, and without fatalism.

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The opposite paralyzes struggle, disarms the people.

The course of events after XX confirms this. 1965 even the most rash imperialists will see the impossibility (of war). Mao in 1957 said "Everything reduces itself to gaining fifteen years." Lasting peace will be assured in the whole world. They are inconsistent--on the one hand paper tiger, and on the other it is impossible to restrain (them). Do not overestimate but do not cease to see their possibilities. Chinese in the press "whoever defends thesis (1 word illeg.) is opposed to wars of liberation!"--XXI (congress) policy of wars have been (1 word illeg.) by the imperialists against peoples (after the 2nd World War)--struggle for peace makes it more difficult (Egypt, Irak, Lebanon, Syria).

Coexistence could be prejudicial for the nations not yet liberated. It does not mean renunciation of class war by the proletariat, nor of national liberation, armed struggle included! (7 words illeg.) but the general line of the Socialist countries (1/2 line illeg.) VIIIth Congress--5 principles (China-India) (2 lines illeg.)

Red Flag (theoretical organ of the CPC) "coexistence probably can be maintained until an agreement on peaceful coexistence can be secured, prohibition (2 words illeg.) Nevertheless, as long as imperialism exists, we will not by any means have finished with war."

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ZMZB-25 April 1960 "Succession of periods of war and peace will be permanent and inevitable as long as we have not disposed of imperialism."

Liu Chang-sheng WFTU "China is a supporter of co-existence, disarmament--but it would be completely erroneous to consider it possible to exclude war completely... completely erroneous (1 word illeg.) of the possibility of excluding war from social life. Here are those who believed that disarmament can be achieved...but...illusions which do not correspond to reality as long as imperialism exists, it is impossible to create a world without war, without arms (In WFTU public session, members of the (Chinese) CC launched a polemic against declaration of all parties, including the Chinese.

Coexistence permits gaining time, consolidation of the Socialist system, acceleration of the building of socialism and Communism. The CPs cannot permit that soc(iety) be carried hundreds of years back, that hundreds should die.

It is impossible to accept (Red Flag). We need not fear war, atom bombs are paper tigers to subjugate people, the losses of war will be compensated for (with the victory of socialism). Socialism has an assured victory without need of catastrophies 10-15 years will be enough for 1st- assured supremacy 2nd-conditions excluding war, even if capitalism maintains itself in a portion of the world.

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Lenin is clear "We are obliged to do everything that is within the capabilities of our diplomacy to prolong the truce" Works 27, 343.

Coexistence contributes to (1 word illeg.) centrifugal forces in the imperialist bloc, sharpens the contradictions, between countries, of imperialism and internal.

Coexistence and class peace--according to the Chinese.

Marxists never included relations between colonies and home countries in the concept of coexistence; imperialists, dependents, proletariat, exploiters.

Coexistence of states with different social systems.

It is a form of class warfare between capitalism and socialism on a world scale, favorable to socialism. It makes the struggle against capitalism easier in the capitalist countries, better possibilities for consolidating links with the masses in order to prepare (1 word illeg.) the defeat of capitalism. Declaration of Rome (cited).

Chinese declare that the CPSU is on the way to flirting with the bourgeoisie, to abandoning class positions-- CPSU maintains that there is a Leninist basis for the possibility of the participation of the bourgeoisie in a national liberation movement--(1 word illeg.) supports liberated countries.

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Chinese propose revision of aid policy, starting from the idea that when the bourgeoisie gains power it exhausts its capabilities for anti-imperialist struggle (India, Egypt, Indonesia) the national bourgeoisie has lost its anti-imperialist orientation, and are themselves becoming imperialists.

Must not skip stages of revolution, it can cause serious damage. (4 words illeg.) that bourgeoisie is in power and does not resolve internal problems (1 word illeg.) Must look at the correlation of class forces.

The imperialists seek splits in the movements of national liberation, drawing with (5 words illeg.) to the socialist world system.

Must increase number of friends with neutralists (4 words illeg.). (Line illeg.)

Taking advantage of contradictions in the enemy camp (Lenin) (2 1/2 lines illegible)

(See Headquarters Comment 3.)

IUS--February 1960, China opposes increasing contacts with student organizations in capitalist countries. "There is no need to sit at a round table with bourgeois students, but to combat them uncompromisingly. WFDY, March 1960, and Afro-Asian Conference, April 1960-- They opposed discussion of disarmament because "call for disarmament lulls popular masses and demobilizes the struggle against imperialism."

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Asian Labor Conference, Peiping, 1949--Chinese proposed "unfolding bitter struggle in colonial and semi-colonial countries; establishing popular liberation armies under the direction of the CP's." This had not been previously agreed by the CP's, and it was used by the imperialists against WFTU; later revised by Chinese.

In May 1954, the CC of Chinese CP sent to CC of CPSU a report of the party fraction of the Chinese labor movement which stated that the main tasks of the WFTU were to consolidate unity of workers, defend peace, democracy, and social and economic conditions, and which supported the attitude of the WFTU. Then they opposed WFTU approval of decisions which clashed with those of the CP's, and which would lead to difficulties between the WFTU and CP's.

Now the Chinese talk of WFTU opportunism, and this threatens the unity of its ranks.

6. Chinese diverge from Declaration and Manifesto. They say that they abide by them. (1) Change from capitalism to socialism--Chinese characterize it as the "last phase of the development of capitalism, a time of wars and revolutions." (2) Possibility of avoiding war, coexistence is the basis of the policy of socialist countries--"world without wars and arms only when socialism has conquered the world," otherwise it is an illusion. Coexistence is impossible; it only gratifies the imperialists, affords them the opportunity to murder the peoples of Asia and Africa with impunity (ZMZB). The alternative of coexistence or

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war is not proper because there is a third way. (3) The struggle for peace is an essential task--"erroneous and anti-Leninist; it creates hopes of possible peace with capitalism." (4) Various paths--not recognizing the peaceful way, they argue that "various paths arise from mistaken understanding of imperialism." (5) Resolutions of 20th Congress start new stage of communist international. In voicing their disagreement with the 20th Congress, some Chinese comrades again propose the discussion of the personality cult. Cited Mao's statements on the personality cult on VIIIth (Congress) and 40th Anniversaries, and compliment to Khrushchev; proposal detracts from the important party tasks, and weakens the struggle against the consequences of the personality cult. (6) Cohesion of communist movement and labor movement; this rules out criticizing any party without its knowledge, and much less behind its back--criticism of the CPSU and other CP's. Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma; it demands the study of the concrete situation. CPSU and other parties proposed new theses--Chinese opposed them. CPSU fights against revisionism, for purity of Marxism-Leninism and cohesion of communist movement. Chinese criticism does not strengthen the international communist movement.

Chinese against the Rome Declaration; "opportunist." They become judges in their absence over the group of experienced parties. They did this in the meeting of labor committee in Peiping.

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7. Need of cohesion between socialist camp and international communist movement.

The Chinese position threatens grave consequences, especially after torpedoing summit meeting and cold war and anticommunist efforts. Many Chinese acts are disloyal to the CPSU. On one hand, they say that the Soviet Union is the leader, and on the other, they attack behind the back with equivocations. Breaking principles of proletarian internationalism and lacking sincerity.

CPSU considered the 100 flowers mistaken, but it did not intervene; neither did it judge against the material ? interest in socialist construction. Special responsibility of CP's of socialist camp: Their strength resides in unity, daily collaboration, and mutual aid, in order to ensure the unity of the peoples. Special responsibility of Soviet Union and China: CPSU considers the consolidation of the Soviet Union-China unity an essential task; economic, scientific, and technical aid. Soviet plants produce 35 percent of total Chinese heavy industrial output; 6 6 (4) rubles credits; basic aid to create armed forces; thwarted blockade of China by imperialists.

Need and possibility of overcoming differences without compromising principles: The Chinese cannot ignore the interests of the world Communist movement, etc.

On 17 July (5), the CPSU (held discussions with) the Chinese CP delegation to the Third Congress of the

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Rumanian Workers Party. The CPSU said that it considered the viewpoints and methods erroneous; the delegation to the Congress continued to defend its views, but was willing to admit its errors if proved to be so.

CPSU considers an exchange of views essential.  
21 June 1960.

Part II. Proceedings of conference of representatives of  
50 Communist parties 26 June 1960.

Thesis of 1957 confirmed by events, ratified by meeting.

Character and program of the contemporary communist movement.

All conclusions, particularly coexistence, inevitability (of war?), need for peoples to be vigilant for there is danger as long as imperialism exists. Peace is a fundamental task and everything possible will be done to preserve it.

In several countries, there are possibilities of destroying repressive forces and creating possibilities of peaceful transition. At the same time, the possibility for non-peaceful transition must be kept in mind.

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The socialist camp is in full development; it is consolidating, etc. They will consolidate and take extreme care of the unity of the CP's.

To be published Tuesday.

Chinese asked for two days to obtain acceptance of CC.

China

The opinions of some comrades are groundless and slanderous. They do not know the whole situation or the whole truth. It is our duty to clear up these questions. Our discussions and actions take place in sight of millions of people. One must base oneself on the facts and judge. For example, coexistence: in 1954 China initiated five principles, and in Bandung confirmed 10 principles. Friendship treaties of China with Nepal and Burma recently.

Since time is short, desire to touch upon:

(1) WFTU Problem--Two facts: The documents for the Peiping session contained attacks against the communes and the great leap, the miracle of the Chinese people. It was intervention in internal affairs. In regard to the communes, etc., we say these are affairs of China and not to be mixed with the affairs of other countries.

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We are not forcing other countries to approve the communes, if they do not like them.

But such a negative attitude against the communes and the great leap in an official WFTU document to boot was bound to provoke our displeasure. What is the source of this? I do not wish to dwell on this because some comrades have already raised....

That is why I would like to say something about the subject. Thanks to the communes and the increase of wheat production.... We are a backward country... steel....

As to other countries, it is not our concern.

The WFTU document would have been rejected by our people. There were some matters. The CC of the Chinese CP tried to reach a solution by way of.... But no solution could be reached.

(2) War, peace, revolution--The socialist camp struggle for peace and coexistence, and our task.... (words missing?) Chinese in this is clear to all. When Khrushchev visited the US, China pledged its support. Our support is more than sufficient.

We supported the summit meeting. As to exchange of visits, Chou has visited several countries. And talks are held with the US. If it is not for peace, why all this?

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Our program and actions should not raise doubts.  
It is a pretension that we are against coexistence.

The peace forces are stronger than ever at this time. Wind from the East. We have such powerful forces that we can avert war. But can it be avoided completely? This does not depend solely on ourselves. We do not wish to unleash wars, but imperialism exists, and while it does there is a possibility of wars. We cannot accept that war will not be started by the imperialists. (And a small argument developed on this! (6) )

That is why we endorse the Moscow Declaration.

Our objective is the same: struggle for peace. But we must struggle for peace, first, by peaceful means, and second, keeping in readiness in case the imperialists start a war.

As to peaceful transition, there are two possibilities. This is what the Moscow Declaration states. We must work in two senses: in the case there is war, and in the case there is not.

Tht three articles on Lenin's anniversary do not contradict the Moscow Declaration.

If a fraternal party or some comrades believe that there is contradiction in those articles, the Chinese

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CP will honestly consider all remarks.

(3) The Communique--The authority of our delegation is linked to the letter of the CC of the Chinese CP dated 16 June: "the definite date of a meeting, can be arranged with the representatives of the Chinese CP to the Third Congress; this does not exclude a meeting without adopting a resolution, in Bucharest."

(Khrushchev: It is evident that we could not (6 words approx. illeg.) right of all CP's.)

He does not say anything about this--but those are the powers given them by the Chinese CP.

The first letter of the CC of CPSU to the Chinese CP proposed a meeting of CP's of socialist countries; in the Chinese answer, since it concerned all CP's, it would be wise to invite them all to the proposed meeting.

The answering letter also mentioned it would be desirable to establish drafting committees beforehand to prepare for the meeting. All the important Chinese declarations must be discussed in the Political Bureau. They have not had time to get an answer about the Communique.

They assert that the justice of the Moscow Declaration is beyond challenge. Drafting and publication of this communique is not a repetition of the Declaration.

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That is why it requires the concurrence of the CC, or corrections might ensue.

There is not enough time for careful study these documents (the Soviet informational note); it is impossible...2-3 days, technical difficulties. (Yesterday they were not allowed the necessary time, and today they are forced to speak further though they do not wish to do so. Yesterday he took the floor three times! The whole mess started when GD<sup>8</sup> offered them today if they needed more time.)<sup>7</sup>

Khrushchev: Yesterday we discussed until exhaustion. I demand an 8-hour day!

In the first round, he talked for as long as he wanted; when he wanted to talk again, everybody was exhausted.

Gromyko came (Khrushchev, Pospelov, Ponomarev, Podgorny--secretary of Ukrainian CP--and others). Gomulka came (and Ochab) Novotny, Zhivkov, and Ulbricht.<sup>9</sup>

Khrushchev I am not E (Eisenhower?, or "an Emperor"?) and all must solve them; it is not a US-(SR?) China affair.

They sign with reservations--there are many supplementary (objections?).

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All (agree?) with the declaration--although when the Chinese signed it, they probably were not satisfied and will try to get a majority to abrogate the declaration.

They use Trotskyist and not Leninist methods.

The important thing is where we direct the blow.

The Mongol-Chou communique--Chou struck out reference to coexistence from (the communique?)--(the pretext of Peng Chen is, why speak of coexistence between China and Mongolia!)

The Chinese attitude is fatalistic, arithmetical, and leads to surrender and failure to struggle.

The Hundred Flowers: encourages the reactionaries to open their own flowers, and this is a bad thing.

They sent Hundred Flowers and Paper Tiger leaflets in Russian to the USSR, although Khrushchev had suggested to Mao that they contained discrepancies. It is an attempt to impose their own opinions.

They publish a Sino-Soviet Friendship magazine in Moscow, and the Chinese published the rejected articles in it.

Not a matter of divergences but of adjudication of divergences. In the Chinese-Indian affair--the Chinese say, How can it be that the USSR does not declare itself on China's side?

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The conflict is a very unfortunate thing. There has been no fighting between India and China for hundreds of years. Why must there be conflict with a socialist country?

Brest-Litovsk--Turkey--Lenin turned over a great deal of territory to the Turks. But this is not the important thing; what is important is that Lenin thought of the victory of the Turkish working class and that nobody might think that the USSR acts like an imperialist power.

(Cited precedent?) Iran--what does it matter to give up a few kilometers?

I say that the Chinese opened fire first.

Nor is this the main problem.

The USA informed Nehru that they supported him. What can happen if the USSR supports China?

What has benefited from this conflict? Nehru is a bourgeois but he is not Eisenhower or the Shah of Iran.

This has hurt the Indian Communist Party--it is a national, not a social, conflict.

Why not wait a few years until India is socialist?

The best thing for the USSR to do is to support the aspiration to peaceful settlement.

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Lenin called for a struggle against Russian great-power chauvinism.

It did damage in Kerala--they would have won.

The Indian CP is made to appear a traitor to the national and Nehru a national hero.

Work of the WPC--the Chinese propose a denunciation of colonizers; but the colonizers are there or people who agree with them.

The WPC is an organization above the (classes?), which should be used.

Chinese soldiers were unwilling to engage in common, coordinated action because this would imply possible overflights by aircraft of one country over the other--settled later.

Economic aid to underdeveloped countries.

Communes, etc., are internal problems--we are not against them, although Khrushchev considers that this way will lead nowhere.

There are members of the Chinese Central Committee who are opposed (Peng Te-huai).

Against economic stimulation.

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Small metallurgy--we are not opposed; but if they ask us to discuss it, we don't think it's a good idea. Let them do it if they want to.

Opposed to leaps--a leap reflects an inability for long-range planning. There can be both leaps, and falls.

Peng Cheng: Agreed on some points--foreexample, that the dispute is not personal but is between the parties.

Relations between brothers and not between father and son.

They accuse Khrushchev of organizing this meeting to (1) accuse the Chinese Communist Party and Mao Tse-tung and (2) to cover up an effort to undermine the prestige of the Chinese CP.

Commission of about 20-25 countries (from Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, Cuba).

To begin on whatever date each party thinks best.

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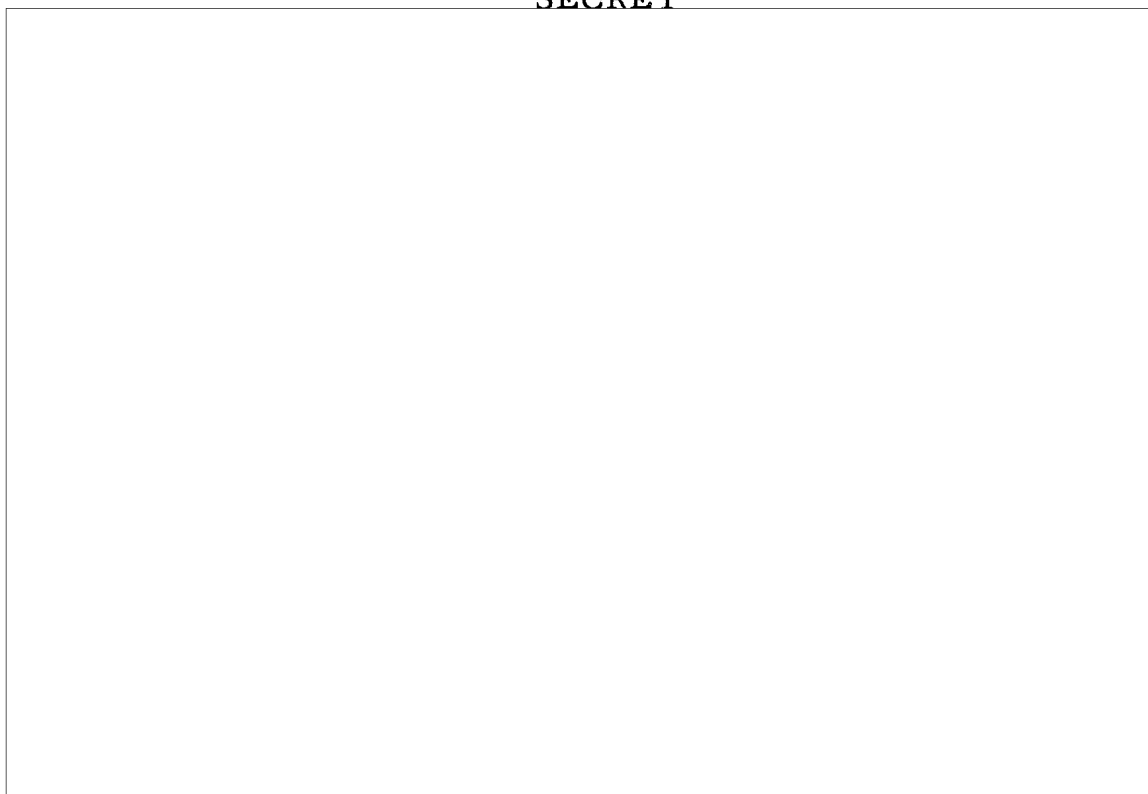
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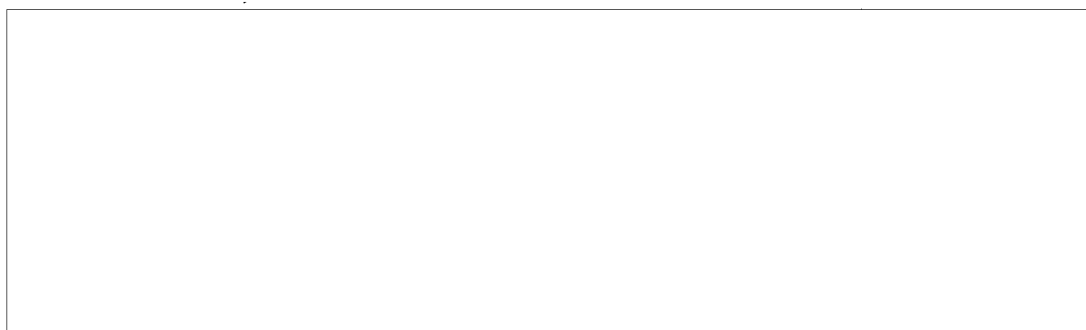
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Comments.

1. JMZB (or, elsewhere, ZMZB) - abbreviation for "Jen Min Ji pao"--People's Daily.



4. In other materials, this figure is reported as 6,000 million rubles.

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5. - Month reported elsewhere as June, not July.

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8. G. D. --Probably Gheorghiu-Dej, Party Secretary  
[Redacted] who reportedly presided over the interparty  
debate at Bucharest.

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